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الأرجنتين :

الثورة على حافة الأزمة العالمية

كريس هارمان



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مركز الدراسات الاشتراكية

الأرجنتين

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٦	* الحوادث السابقة في الأرجنتين:
٩	* طبيعة النضال في الأرجنتين:
١١	قد توضح بعض الاحصاءات من ١٩٧٢ الفرق الضئيل بين الأرجنتين وايطاليا في ذلك الوقت (١٨):
١٣	* بحث الطبقة الرأسمالية عن استراتيجية:
١٥	* صانع معجزة الليبرالية الجديدة:
١٧	* السقوط والسحق:
١٨	* سياسات الركود:
٢٠	* طرق الأواني وحركات العمال العاطلين عن العمل:
٢٤	* البيرونية والنقابات:
٢٨	* العقد المرير:
٣٢	* اليسار الثوري:
٣٤	* أزمة الطبقة الحاكمة:
٣٧	* الى أين تذهب الأرجنتين؟:
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Notes

- 1 Quoted in Le Monde, 21 January 2002.
- 2 R Munck with R Falcon and B Galitelli, *Argentina From Anarchism to Peronism* (London, 1987), p101.
- 3 For a graphic account of this period, see D James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946-1976* (Cambridge, 1988), ppl4-15,25-30.
- 4 R Munck with R Falcon and B Galitelli, *op cit*, pl27.
- 5 The relationship between Peronism and the working class was far too intricate to do sufficient justice to it in a couple of paragraphs here. For a longer, excellent, account see D James, *op cit*.
- 6 R Munck with R Falcon and B Galitelli, *op cit*, pl44 and pl63.
- 7 'Argentina', *Citta Futura*, anno vi, n3 (Rome, March 1974), pl5.
- 8 Details in O Alba, 'El Cordobazo', *Socialismo o Barbaric*, no 7,2001.
- 9 R Munck with R Falcon and B Galitelli, *op cit*, p 171.
- 10 For full accounts of these events, see J P Brennan, *The Labor Wars in Cordoba 1955-1976* (Harvard, 1994), and chapter 9 of D James, *op cit*.

- 12 M A Garcí'a, *Peronismo: Desarrollo Economico y Lucha de Clase en Argentina* (Epiuges de Llobregat, 1980), p29. The Argentinian figure was 749, that of France 571 and that of Italy 414.
- 13 See the arguments against those who see Argentina as being a 'neo-colony' in A Dabat and L Lorenzano, *Conflicts) Malvinense y Crisis Nacional* (Mexico, 1982), pp68-71.
- 14 M A Garcí'a, *op cit*, p29.
- 15 *Ibid*, p42.
- 16 The figures are given in 'Argentina', *Citta Futura*, *op cit*.
- 17 See the comparison of Italian and Argentinian growth rates in M A Garcia, 'Argentina: El Veintenio Desarrollista', in *Debate*, no 4 (Rome, April-May 1978), p20.
- 18 'Argentina', *Citta futura*, *op cit*, p3.

- 19 Ibid, p7.
- 20 Figures for Argentinian wages in 1995 given in 'Expected Wages in Selected NME Countries', at <http://ia.ita.doc.gov/wages/95wages/95wages.htm>
- 21 See UNDP, World Development Report (Oxford, 1997).
- 22 Figures in R Munck with R Falcon and B Galitelli, op cit, p209.
- 23 E Carpena, 'El capitalismo en Argentina', in Debate, op cit, pl7.
- 24 According to R Munck with R Falcon and B Galitelli, op cit, pp208-209.
- 25 Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Economic Commentary, September 1999.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 'Prologo' to M A Garci'a, Peronismo: Desarrollo Economico y Lucha de Close en Argentina, op cit, p6.
- 28 See the figures in Debate, op cit, pi 14.
- 29 According to A Dabat and L Lorenzano, op cit, p56.
- 30 Business Week, 21 October 1991.
- 31 Financial Times, 'Survey On Argentina', 19 September 1997.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 The figures given by the US Agency for International Development, Washington DC, 1996, show a rise of about 4 percent—although this figure may be misleading since we know that in this period there was growth of low paid unregistered employment in the black economy.
- 34 See figure 5 in P Sanguinetti and J Pantano, Changes in Production and Employment Structure and Relative Wages in Argentina and Uruguay, World Bank Sponsored Paper (August, 2001).
- 35 Ibid, p3.
- 36 Financial Times, 'Survey On Argentina', op cit.
- 37 J Stiglitz, reprinted in ATTAC Newsletter 113, available at <http://attac.org>
- 38 According to the Financial Times, 9 October 2001.
- 39 P Sanguinetti and J Pantano, op cit.

- 40 Institute Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Republica Argentina
(available at www.indec.mecon.gov.ar).
- 41 Financial Times, 30 October 2001.
- 42 M Mussa, Financial Times, 12 November 2001.
- 43 According to El Pats, 21 December 2001, 42.5 percent of foreign
investment is from European Union countries (more than half of this from
Spain) and 37.4 percent from the US.
- 44 Pagina 12, web version, 25 January 2002, www.pagina12.com.ar
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- 45 'Otra Cacerolazo Contra el Corralito', Pdginici 12, web version. 11
January 2002. op cit.
- 46 Pdgina 12, 6 January 2002.
- 47 F Huertas, Liberation, 28 January 2002.
- 48 S Calloni, La Jornada, 21 January 2001.
- 49 E-mailed information from an Argentinian revolutionary socialist.
- 50 This list is taken from a single issue of the paper Prensa Obrera.
- 51 The original Trotskyist organisation was led by Nahuel Moreno.
- 52 J A Monies et al, Astillero Rio Santiago (Buenos Aires, 1999). pp54-55.
- 53 Quoted ibid, p66.
- 54 P Pozzi, 'Popular Upheaval and Capitalist Transformation in Argentina',
iMtin American Perspectives, vol 27. no 5 (September 2000), p74.
- 55 J A Monies et al .op cit, pl05.
- 56 P Pozzi, op cit, p79.
- 57 Ibid, p83.
- 58 The attempts to do so in La Verdad Obrerci (8 January 2002) and Prensa
Obrera (28 December 2001) do not hold water. The fact that there were
previous struggles does not mean there was no spontaneous movement
of vast numbers of new people into action, constituting a qualitative
change from what had gone before.

- 59 The point is well made in M Romano, 'Four General Strikes in 15 Months', in the PTS journal. International Strategy, no 1 (May 2001), p31.
- 60 As does J Petras, 'Argentina, the Big Bed and the Popular Uprising', available at www.eurosur.org/rebellion.petras.htm
- 61 H Camarero, P Pozzi and A Schneider, 'Unrest and Repression in Argentina', New Politics, vol 7, no) (new series), whole no 25 (Summer 1998).
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 P Pozzi, op cit, p63.
- 64 Details from O Alba, 'La Lucha Por el Pan', Socialismo o Barbaric, no 6, 2001.
- 65 See, for instance, the description in M Romano, 'Four General Strikes in 15 months', op cit, p27.
- 66 Pagina 12, 31 March 2001.
- 67 See, for example, the account of the killing of two civilians during the road blockade in General Mosconi, north of Salta, in Pagina 12, 1 June 2001.
- 68 R Saenz in Socialismo o Barbaric, no 6, 2001.
- 69 See the rather bitterly toned article by local MAS activist Laura Correale in Socialismo o Barbaric, no 7, 2001.
- 70 O Alba, 'La Lucha Por el Pan', op cit.
- 71 L Correale, Socialismo o Barbaric, op cit.
- 72 J Petras, op cit
- 73 See, for instance, 'El MAS en Argentinazo', Socialismo o Barbaric, no 10, January 2002. See also the bitter diatribe against Petras in La Verdad Obrero, 8 January 2002.
- 74 This is clear from the papers of the Partido Obrero and the Partido de Trabajadores por el Socialismo and the magazine of the Movimiento al Socialismo, Socialismo o Barbaric.
- 75 P Pozzi, op cit, p81.

- 76 Ibid.
- 77 For a criticism of the CTA position, see O Alba, 'Cuadro de Situaci'on', Socialismo o Barbaric, no 4, 2000, and R Ramirez and A Orbush, 'Triste, Soitario, Final...', Socialismo o Barbaric, no 2, 2000.
- 78 Deputy economics minister J Todesca, quoted in La Jornada, 8 January 2002.
- 79 Financial Times, 24 January 2002.
- 80 David Cufre in Pagina 12, 1 February 2002.
- 81 T Catan in Financial Times, 4 February 2002.
- 82 S Calloni, La Jornada, 8 February 2001.
- 83 The phrase is used by A Zaiat in Pagina 12. 4 February 2002.
- 84 According to A Zaiat, ibid.
- 85 According to A Zaiat, ibid. See also the analysis of M Itzcovich in // Manifesto, 5 February 2002.
- 86 P Pozzi, op cit, p76.
- 87 Figures given in Pagina 12, 22 January 2002, are for the number employed in workplaces of more than 12 employees. They show a loss of 122,000 jobs in these cities in the year